

IRANICA 13

Iranian Languages and Texts
from Iran and Turan

Ronald E. Emmerick
Memorial Volume

Edited by Maria Macuch,
Mauro Maggi and Werner Sundermann

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Ronald E. Immerwink

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The Dialect of Karingān

EHSAN YARSHATER, NEW YORK

1.0. Karingāni/Karengāni is a variety of Tāti dialects spoken in Karingān (locally Kerāngān), a village in northeastern Azerbaijan belonging to the Eastern Dizmār rural district (*dehestān*) of Varzaqān sub-province (*baxš*) of Ahar province (*šahrestān*). The village is some 84 km to the north of Tabriz and some 18 km to the south of Oštobon, the center of Eastern Dizmār.¹

1.1. I visited the village in the August of 1960. At the time the village consisted of some 90 households which were supported by cultivating wheat, barley, and rye as well as making charcoal from the surrounding woods; they also kept some 100 cows and some 400 sheep and goats; some villagers had opted to become muleteers as the government had recently forbidden cutting of trees for charcoal; some had gone to work to nearby townships.

1.2. The inhabitants called their language Tāti (*tāti zun*). Several other villages of Dizmār and Kaleybar districts such as Čāykendi, Kalāsūr, Xoynaru(d), and Arazin spoke a similar dialect. The memory of the entire Dizmār and Kaleybar districts speaking Tāti lingered among some older people, but Turkish had been rapidly gaining ground, swallowing up the Tāti dialects, as has been the case in the entire Azerbaijan.

1.3. I spent the night in the village of Hazzajān at the house of its chief landlord, JA'FARQOLI KHAN BAHĀDORI. With his help a gendarme was sent to fetch informants from Karingān. Two villagers were brought over, HAMID DĀVARI, 27, literate, who knew both Persian and Turkish, and YADOLLĀH BEYRĀMNEJĀD, 26, who knew Turkish and Kurdish and understood Persian. I collected enough material (including text and vocabulary) for a sketch of the grammar. I visited Azerbaijan again in 1972 where I met 'ALI BEYRĀMI, 24, literate, a native of Karingān who had been living in Tabriz for six years. His parents were also Tāti speakers and he spoke Tāti at home. I reviewed my earlier material with him and collected further material from him.

1.4. Following the publication of AHMAD KASRAVI's pioneering work *Ādhari yā zabān-e bāstān-e Ādharbaijān* (Ādhari or the ancient language of Azerbaijan) in 1925 which made the existence of Tāti pockets in Azerbaijan widely known, YAHYĀ ZOKĀ published in 1954 an account of the dialect of Karingān.²

1 See RAZMĀRĀ: *Farhang-e Joghrafiā'i-ye Irān*. Vol. 4. Tehran 1951, pp. 173 (Ĥasanābād), 231 (Dizmār), and 415 (Karengān).

2 YAHYĀ ZOKĀ: *Karingāni*. Tehran 1332.

Soon after it was followed by 'ABDOL-'ALI KĀRANG's description of two dialects, those of Harzan(d) and Karingān,³ consisting of a description of the two villages, a grammatical outline and a glossary for each dialect. I reviewed his Karingāni glossary with 'ALI BEYRĀMI, noting the differences in pronunciation or meaning.

Phonology

2.0. The vowel phonemes are: *i, e, ə, ö, (o), u, ü, a, ā*.

2.1. *ə* is a short, central and somewhat unstable vowel. It is heard in words such as *bəv* 'quince', *səv* 'apple', *vət* 'without', *babə* 'outside', *parə* 'day before yesterday', *denə* 'the world', *qərji* 'wrinkled', *ləfčəmāx* 'bedding', *təl* 'bitter', *təq* 'thorn', *mərd* 'man', *pə* 'up', *u-čər-* 'to turn back', *səq* 'stone'. The marker of the oblique singular and direct plural as well as the ending of the infinitive, the initial vowel of the enclitic form of the present of 'to be' in the 1st and 2nd person singular and the 3rd person plural (*-ən* 'am', *əše* 'you are', *ənde* 'they are'), the vowel connecting the enclitic pronouns to the words that precede them and the final vowel of abstract nouns derived from adjectives are all *ə*. The direct and oblique singular of the proximate demonstrative pronouns are differentiated by *e* and *ə*, respectively (see 8.5). Examples: *guə* 'cow/cows' (obl. sing. and dir. pl.), *ginest-ə* 'to fall', *gəlest-ə* 'to boil' (intr.), *təq-əš* 'its thorn', *deruzetə* 'length'. However, I could not always trust my ear to decide between *ə* and *e*, or determine whether *ə* is a phoneme or an allophone of *e*, particularly in view of the former's instability and its being affected by a neighboring vowel, even though at least three minimal pairs point to the phonemic status of the two: *šet* 'milk' and *šət* 'bent', *de* 'to' and *də* 'an interjection indicating surprise or protest', *eme* 'this' and *emə* 'these' (see 8.5). In the present article I have rendered *ə* and *e* as I have heard them, tending to employ *e* rather than *ə*, but I may have not been accurate in all cases. In my treatment of Kalāsuri, a Tāti dialect very close to Karingāni, both geographically and linguistically, I have not used the distinction and have treated *ə* as an allophone of *e*.

2.2. *ö* is slightly more closed than cardinal [ø] and is relatively infrequent. It occurs in *döri* 'a lie', *löbüd* 'lip', *göndis* 'packing needle', *köčal* 'dried wheat stalks that remain after the threshed wheat is winnowed', *papöl* 'rooster's crest', *mörüžen* 'ant', *gölla* 'bullet', *dörü-* 'to reap', *keköv-* 'to cough'. When preceded by it, *k* and *g* assume a palatal pronunciation.

2.3. *o* is opener than cardinal [o] and was heard in *kelo* 'hat', *kalo* 'crow', *xox* 'earth, dirt', *govdar* 'yawn', but a minimal pair to distinguish it from *u* (see 2.4)

3 'ABDOL-'ALI KĀRANG: *Tāti va Harzani, do lahje az zabān-e bāstān-e Ādhar-baijān*. Tehran 1333.

could not be found; even in *šulov* 'stew', although *u* and *o* appear somewhat different, the informant considered *šuluw* also correct.

2.4. *u* is a long vowel that vacillates between cardinal [u] and open *o*. It mostly occurs where Persian has *ā*.

2.5. *ü* vacillates between [ø] and [y], but generally is opener than [y]. Minimal pairs to distinguish it from *u* are *rü* 'day', *ru* 'way', *mü* 'hair', *mu* 'moon'. *k* and *g* become palatalized when they follow it. However, in a number of cases *u* and *ü* alternate in my notations, e.g., the postposition *kü/ku/kö* 'from' and *rü/ru/ro* 'day', a fact that blurs the phonemic status of either *ü* or *u*.

2.6. *a* is close to cardinal [a], but in some words it is changed to *ā* as the result of vowel harmony and the influence of Turkish; e.g., *melaxā/melāxā* 'spoon', *sabāsari/sābāsari* 'early morning' (see 2.7).

2.7. *ā* is a long back vowel; at the end of words it often corresponds to Persian *a*; e.g., *nanā* 'mother', *darā* 'stream', *sadā* 'simple', *šāhār* 'the city = Tabriz'. Its clear contrast with *a* is seen in *āv* 'deer', and *av* 'he/she/it'. In a number of cases it changes to *a* when it becomes non-final; e.g., *nun-em en pātā* 'I have baked bread', but *ču kat en pāta-mun* 'we have cooked four times', *melāxā/melaxā sist* 'the spoon broke', *melaxa-m en šestā* 'I have washed the spoon', *dendā* 'beak'; the examples include adjectives ending in *ā* (including past participles) when followed by the words they modify, e.g., *ketmā* 'big', but *ketma dur* 'big tree', *čeniā* 'picked', but *čenia vel* 'picked flower', *asistā* 'spilled', but *asista ruven* 'spilled ghee'. The lengthening and velarization of *a* when final may be due to Turkish influence which is widespread in Karingān and the neighboring villages.

3.0. The consonants are: *p, b, t, d, č, j, k, g, x, q, f, m, n, r, l, s, z, ž, š, h, v, (w), y*.

3.1. The pronunciation of *č* is close to *ts* and when voiced close to *dz*.

3.2. *v* tends to drop out when final, e.g., *de(v)* 'two', *u(v)* 'water'; occasionally it is softened into *w*, but in careful speech and between vowels it is *v*; therefore *w* has no place in the phonemic system.

3.3. *k* and *g* each consists of two distinct allophones: palatal and velar. They are palatal when followed (sometimes preceded) by a front vowel (*i, e, ö, ü*) and are articulated close to *č* and *j*, respectively; e.g., *k'elo* 'hat', *lük'* 'skin', *ing'ü* 'here'. The velar occurs when they are followed by a central or back vowel (*ə, ā, a, o/u*; cf. 3.5)⁴; e.g., *kalo* 'crow', *korān* 'carrier, muleteer (Persian *mokāri*)', *aġo* 'there'. However, some exceptions were noticed; e.g., *leng'un* the plural of *leng'* 'leg' was pronounced with palatal *g* even though followed by *u* and *šik'ār* 'hunt' was pronounced with a palatal *k* even though followed by the back vowel *ā* (possibly by the influence of the preceding *-i-*) and *lük'-ə*, the oblique of *lük'* 'skin', retained palatal *k* even though followed by *ə*, obviously by the influence of *ü*.

4 The difference was so clear to my informant 'ALI BEYRAMI that whenever I mispronounced *k* or *g* he would object and correct me. He thought that the difference between *kelo* 'hat' and *kalo* 'crow' depended more on the pronunciation of the stops than their vowels.

3.4. *q* is a fricative, equivalent to Persian *ɣ*.

3.5. *l* in the vicinity of front vowels assumes a more palatal pronunciation and in the vicinity of back vowels a velar one (cf. 3.3).

4.0. *Assimilation.* Some cases of assimilation are: (1) the enclitic 3rd person singular pronoun *-š* becomes *ž* when it is followed by a voiced consonant. Therefore in a large number of 2nd person singular imperatives *bi-š* which has become generalized as a prefix for any imperative, irrespective of its object (see 10.1), appears as *bi-ž*, e.g., *biž deren!* 'tear!', *biž yan!* 'hit!', *nexte-ž gi!* 'take its bridle!', (cf. *biš fiž!* 'let!', *biš send!* 'break!', *u-š kā!* 'open!'); (2) *m* before palatal *k*, *g*, *č* and *ɣ* becomes a palatal nasal and before the velar *k* and *g* a velar nasal; (3) *n*, a dental nasal, is pronounced *m* before a labial, e.g., *mun en([em]) behārd* 'I am eating', *nun en([em]) pātā* 'I have baked bread', *durun([m]) berā!* 'cut (pl.) the trees!'; before *m*, however, it stays as *n*; e.g., *yanun mardə-šun yainde* 'the women hit the men'; (4) *-ə*, the marker of the oblique singular and the direct plural, changes into *i* in the vicinity of palatals; e.g., *vayi* (obl. sing. of *vay* 'bride'), *gini vaštende* 'the harvests got burnt', *benen-ež löbüdi nāqu-de!* 'hold its lower lips!', *pü pi* 'up the wall' (*pə* 'up'); (5) *ü* often changes a neighboring *i* to *ü*; e.g., *ingü/üngü* 'here'; (6) *d* in the vicinity of a voiceless consonant, particularly *š*, becomes almost voiceless, e.g., *čaš te* (for *de*)! 'look out! (lit. give eye!)'.

Morphosyntax

Substantives

5.0. *Cases and numbers.* Karingāni distinguishes two numbers in substantives, singular and plural, and two cases, direct and oblique. Grammatical gender is not distinguished. The marker of the direct case is zero in the singular and stressed *-ə* in the plural. The marker of the oblique is stressed *-ə* in the singular and stressed *-un/-on* in the plural; e.g., *zumu/vay uma* 'the groom/the bride came', *viuz gineste ar* 'the walnut fell down', *viuz-ə send!* 'crack the walnut!', *pas-ə umende* 'the ewes arrived', *em pas-un keš!* 'slaughter these ewes!'

5.1. The plural oblique marker has a range between *-on* and *-un*. When a word ends in *-ā* the marker of oblique plural is reduced to *-n*; e.g., *keftān* (sing. *keftā*) *kü, fa!* 'pound the meatballs, (then) eat (them)!'

5.2. When a noun ends in *a* or *u/ü*, a connective *-y-* connects the final vowel to the markers *-ə* of the oblique singular and direct plural narrowed into *i*, which sometimes is omitted altogether; e.g., *pa-y(i) yan!* 'hit the dog!', *pa-y(i) veyrtinde* 'the dogs ran away', *pa-y-un yan!* 'hit the dogs!'; *mü-y-i muste miunda pigi!* 'pick out the hair from the middle of the yogurt!', *mü-y-un muste ārandā!* 'bring out the hairs from the yogurt!'

6.0. The uses of cases

6.1. *Ergative construction.* As in the majority of Tāti dialects, in Karingāni past transitive verbs follow the ergative construction, that is, the verb accords, not with its logical subject (the agent), but with its logical object (the grammatical subject). The logical object of the verb is accordingly expressed in the direct case and the logical subject of the verb in the oblique; e.g., *xugun durə-šun vātende pe* 'the boars uprooted the trees (lit. the trees were uprooted by the boars)', *Hasan-ə ulatə-š kārdende tān* 'Hasan put on his clothes (pl.)', *ulati-em kārdende tān* 'I put on (past) my clothes'. However, sometimes as the result of weakening of the ergative construction the verb accords with the agent, e.g., *xugə durə-ž vāte pe* '(a) boar uprooted the trees'. Past transitive verbs have essentially two forms which correspond to the 3rd person singular and plural of the intransitive verbs, respectively. The agent is generally expressed or resumed by an enclitic pronoun, and this gives rise to verbal forms such as *vin-če* 'he saw', *zunest-če* 'he knew', *vot-če/vot-je/vo-jje* (< *vot-še*) 'he/she said' which consist of the verb and its agent.

6.2. *Definition.* Karingāni, as it is the case in most other Tāti dialects, has no particular device for the definition, but the use of the oblique indicates a definite direct object (or the agent, that is, the logical subject in ergative constructions). On the other hand, the use of direct case in the singular, which usually has a collective or generic sense, indicates an indefinite object; e.g., *səv-ə lük-ə tuš!* 'peel the skin of the apple!', but *səv tān!* 'buy apples!', *yan ma-tān!* 'don't take a wife!', *səq vu made!* 'don't throw stone(s)!'

6.3. *The uses of the direct case.* The direct case is used for (1) the subject of all tenses of intransitive verbs; e.g., *Hasan šie* 'Hasan left', *vay-ə šinde* 'the brides left'; (2) the subject of transitive verbs in the present tenses; (3) indefinite direct objects (see 6.2); (4) objects of destination; e.g., *pašarü əmbe-beše šekār/šāhār* 'the day after tomorrow we are going hunting/to the city (= Tabriz)'; (5) the vocative; e.g., *Hasan, pas ma-tān!* 'Hasan, don't buy sheep!'; (6) the object of a past transitive verb (see 6.1).

6.4. *The uses of the oblique case.* The oblique case is used for (1) definite direct objects of all transitive verbs in the present tenses; e.g., *nextə-ž gi!* 'take its bridle!'; (2) the agent of the verb in an ergative construction (see 6.1); e.g., *keft-un mun-šun kārda xaste* 'the meatballs made me sick'; (3) the indirect object; e.g., *vu ke uma, du-š əmbe-vuyə* 'when the wind came (i.e., comes), we will winnow it (lit. we give it to the wind)'; (4) the genitives, *har-ə nextə keren!* 'pull the donkey's bridle!', *səv-ə lük-ə tuš!* 'peel the apple's skin!', *tüy* (i.e., *tü-ə*) *livā* 'mulberry leaf'; (5) the object of a postposition (*kü* 'from, in', *ru* 'for', *var* 'for', *pə/pi* 'up', *an* 'with', *āndā/undā* 'in, into, from, among'); e.g., *āmri səv-ə kü cuk-e* '(a) pear is better than (an) apple', *Hasan-ə kü eyb nie* 'there are no blemishes in Hasan', *herdan-ə ru šet doyi!* 'give milk to the child (i.e., nurse it)!', *vay-un var ulat-šun en-tā* 'for the brides they have bought clothing (lit. clothing is bought)'

6.4.1. In the case of postpositions that begin with a vowel the singular oblique and the plural direct markers are absorbed by the initial vowel of the postposition. These are *an* 'with, by', and *āndā/undā* 'in, into, from, among'; e.g., *āsb-an ucār!* 'return by horse!', *səqā bel-an send!* 'break the stone with spade!', *gelā kurd-an tuš!* 'scrape off the mud with a knife!', *čul-unda uv keren!* 'draw water from the well!', *pasinde* (i.e., *pasə-ənde*) *puq-undā* 'the sheep are in the pen'. NB. If a noun ends in a vowel it absorbs the initial vowel of (*ā*)*ndā*/(*u*)*ndā*; e.g., *kā-ndā bie* 'he was in the house'.

7.0. Adjectives

7.1. The adjective precedes the noun it modifies which is connected to the adjective by an unstressed *-e* (the stress falling on the noun); e.g., *āl-e āsb* 'red horse', *zārd-e karg* 'yellow hen', *te bāji čuk-e āšpaz-e* 'your sister is (a) good cook'.

7.2. When an adjective ends in *-a/-ā* (e.g., as in past participle; see 2.7 and NB below) the connecting vowel *-e* coalesces with it into *a*; e.g., *beriya tanef* 'torn rope', *čeniya vel zer hešk abe* '(a) picked flower withers soon (lit. becomes dry)', *ketma dur* 'big tree' (*ketmā* 'big').

7.3. When an adjective follows the noun as part of a predicate, it does not take the connective vowel; e.g., *em ketā nər-e* 'this cat is male'.

7.4. In adjectives ending in *-a/-ā* (see 2.7 and NB below), when followed by a copula, *-a/-ā* coalesces with the vowel of the copula into *-a*; e.g., *em ketā muvā* 'this cat is female' (*muvā* 'female'), *em ketun muvande* 'these cats are female'. NB. As the final *-ā* in Karingāni is generally the result of the lengthening and velarizing of *-a*, either on account of harmony of vowels (if there is an *ā* in the word that precedes it) or the influence of Turkish, the above rule may perhaps be better formulated by saying that *-ā* followed by the copula reverts to its original form which then absorbs the vowel of the copula.

7.5. The adjective does not accord in number with the noun it modifies; e.g., *em ketā nər-ənde* 'these cats are male'.

7.6. A noun modified by a number is always put in singular; e.g., *heri sor var* 'three years ago', *Hasan-e pinju-š pas hestā bie* 'Hasan had had fifty sheep'.

7.7. *Comparison*. Karingāni has no particular device for the comparatives of adjectives which are expressed by plain adjectives, usually followed by *kü/kö*; e.g., *mārdə xos-e sāq-mundə kö* 'to die is better than to live (lit. remain whole)', *pas tān, qučə kö čuk-e* 'buy ewes, (it) is better than rams'.

7.8. A number of adjectives are made by adding *-en*, *-in*, or *-ən* to a noun; e.g., *dim-en* 'uppermost' (*dim* 'face', cf. Persian *ru'i*), *ben-en* 'lowermost', *hüš-in* 'clever', *dim-in* 'cheeky', *vun-ən* 'bloody'.⁵

7.9. *-j* is used to indicate affiliation to a location; e.g., *kerāngān-j* 'of Karingān'. (For demonstrative adjectives see 8.6).

5 It is somewhat odd to have three different vowels followed by *-n* for nearly the same purpose, but repeated questions confirmed all three.

8.0. Pronouns

8.1. Karingāni possesses three sets of personal pronouns, two detached: general and possessive, and one enclitic.

8.2. The general pronouns are: 1. *mon*⁶, 2. *te(v)*, 3. *ave/ay*, 4. *ame*, 5. *šeme*⁷, 6. *avon/ay*.⁸ They are used for the following: (1) the subject of a verb, including past transitive verbs, *mon šima* 'I went', *mon uv-em hārde* 'I drank water'; (2) the object of a verb, *ame ma-yān!* 'do not hit us!', *biž-da mon/ame!* 'give me/us!'; (3) the object of a postposition, *mon an bura!* 'come with me!', *mo ru biš-tān!* 'buy for me!', *mon ku eyb nia* 'there is no defect in me', *mon ku biš-tān!* 'take from me!' NB. The *e* of *ame* drops when followed by the postposition *an*; e.g., *am-an bora!* 'come with us!'

8.3. *Possessive pronouns* are 1. *čəmən*, 2. *tə(v)*, 3. *čay*, 4. *čame*, 5. *šame*, 6. *čavon*; e.g., *eme čəmən-e* 'this is mine', *ave təv-e* 'that is yours (sing.)', *ča paše* 'afterwards, then' (*-y* of *čay* seems to have been replaced by length). These pronouns are also used as possessive adjectives; e.g., *tə/čay dāst* 'your/his hand'. (For enclitic possessive pronouns see below).

8.4. *Enclitic pronouns* are: 1. *-(e)m*, 2. *-(y)e*, 3. *-(e)š*⁹, 4. *-mun*, 5. *-(y)un*, 6. *-(e)šun*; (*e*) and (*y*) are connective sounds which come after a consonant or a vowel of the preceding word, respectively. The enclitic pronouns are used as: (1) the agent of past transitive verbs (see 6.1); e.g., *mon būm-em en ov duā* 'I have watered the orchard' (*en* is the 'ending' or the marker for the 3rd person singular of the perfect, see 25), *ame čo kat en pātā-mun* (*en* is actually pronounced *em* before the labial *p*) 'we have baked four times', *bar-em ukārd* 'I opened the door', *agā vuta-ž bü* 'if he should have said'; (2) as genitive pronouns; e.g., *gisān-e vīgi!* 'plait the hair (pl.)!', *āme-zue-š* 'his (paternal) cousin'; *šie, ume-ž* 'his going (and) coming', *leng-eš siste* 'his leg is broken'; (3) as object of a verb; e.g., *arast-eš imb* 'we grind it', *qaray biš-kerni-š-e* 'you (sing.) must pull it' (*-e* seems to be only euphonic), *qaray ar-eš karene* 'you (sing.) must pour it' (*ar-kārdə* 'to pour'), *gužd ke xos bia, kāy-ež arka* 'when the meat is well done, put (lit. pour) herbs in it!'

8.4.1. For the 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun losing its sense and becoming part of the modal prefix *be-*, see 4.0 and 10.1.

6 The final nasal is pronounced as *m* before a labial (see 4.0) and weakens or drops before the postposition *ru*, e.g., *mo ru biš-tān!* 'buy for me!'

7 In *ave, ame*, and *šeme* the accent falls on the second syllable.

8 *ay*, which is apparently a shortened form of *aya* (see 8.5) is used for both 3rd person singular and plural; e.g., *ay ulate-š kār-č-e tān* 'he put on his garment', *ay ulate-š kār dende* 'he put on his garments', *ay šinde* 'they went', *ayende šia* 'they are gone', cf. *avon dā kat en pātā-šun* 'they have cooked (it) ten times'. It appears that *avon* was originally for the oblique (cf. the possessive *čavon*) and *ay* for the direct case; but the informant used both of them for direct and oblique cases.

9 *-eš* is voiced into *-ež* before a voiced consonant or vowel, see 4.0.

8.5. *Demonstrative pronouns*. There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns: direct and oblique, each consisting of proximate and remote. Demonstrative pronouns are also used as personal pronouns. The stress falls on the last syllable.

		Direct	Oblique
Proximate	sing.	<i>eme</i>	<i>emə</i>
	pl.	<i>emə</i>	<i>emun</i>
Remote	sing.	<i>ave</i>	<i>ay(ə)</i> ¹⁰
	pl.	<i>ave</i> (sic) ¹¹	<i>avun</i>

Examples: *eme čuke* 'this is good', *emə čukende* 'these are good', *ave xose* 'that is good', *emə pigi!* 'pick up this!', *emə kü pārs!* 'ask from this one!', *ay pigi!* 'pick that up!', *ay da mon!* 'give that to me!', *ay ber-umbe* '(that) we cut that'. In the 3rd person plural the distinction in the use of cases is sometimes blurred; e.g., *ay/avun veyrdend* 'they ran'.

8.6. *Demonstrative adjectives* have two forms *em* 'this, these' and *a* 'that, those'; e.g., *em səv en čok* 'this apple is good', *em səvə-nde pexastā* 'these apples are rotten', *em zuvə-nde hüšin* 'these boys are clever', *a səvə/səvun biān!* 'bring that apple/those apples!', *a herdanon yān!* 'hit those children!'

9.0. The Verb

9.1. The verbal system follows the general pattern found in other Tāti dialects: it employs two stems, stems I and II, verbal prefixes, the modal prefix *be-*, *beš-/biš-* (see 4.0), the prohibitive marker *ma*, the negative marker *ne-*, and the personal endings. A number of verbal prefixes, here called 'preverbs' (*u-*, *pe-*, *vi-*, *ar-*¹²), are combined with verbal stems. Stem I is used in the formation of the imperative, the subjunctive, and the conditional present and is what is generally called the present stem. Stem II which is commonly identified as the past stem is used in the formation of the present, the future, the preterit, the imperfect, the perfect, the unreal conditional, the subjunctive perfect, and the pluperfect.

9.2. The stem II derives from the stem I in the following manners:

- 1) by adding *-t/-d* to the stem I, depending on whether the final sound of the stem I is unvoiced or voiced; e.g., *vaš-/~t-* 'to burn' (intr.), *umus-/~t-* 'to swell', *vin-/~d-* 'to see', *nešun-/~d-* 'to seat', *tuš-/~t-* 'to peel, to plane', *keš-/~t-* 'to kill', *kān-/~d-* 'to dig'. Under this category may be subsumed a number of verbs in which a vowel or the initial consonant or both are changed, these are: a) *kar-/kārd-* 'to do', *vender-/vendārd-* 'to stand', *mar/*

¹⁰ *ay(ə)* is used for both singular and plural and even sometimes for the singular direct case; apparently it has been generalized; *-ə* in the oblique is rarely heard (see 8.3).

¹¹ In a text by DĀVARI *ava*.

¹² In *ür-kardə* 'to sweep' *ür-* is either a preverb or a nominal complement; no other example with *ür-* was noted.

mārd- 'to die', *bar-/bārd-* 'to carry', *qamar-/qamārd-* 'to make, to build'¹³; b) *gezur-/gezārd-* 'to make dough', and c) *fun-/hund-* 'to read', and *far-/hārd-* 'to eat'.

- 2) As above, except that final consonant of the stem I is altered, mostly as the result of assimilation: *daž-/dašt-* 'to ache', *važ-/vašt-* 'to jump', *veruz-/verušt-* 'to spread (in the sun)', *les-/lešt-* 'to lick'. Under this category may be subsumed cases where the vowel of the stem I also changes; e.g., *neviž-/nevešt-* 'to write', *ris-/rešt-* 'to spin', *miz-/mešt-* 'to urinate' (*čümül-miz-* 'to pass water'; *gü-miz-* 'to defecate'); and where the initial sound also changes; e.g., *fāz-/hāšt-* 'to let', *fuz-/hušt-* 'to ask a woman for marriage'.
- 3) A sibilant final consonant of the stem I drops before the final dental of the stem II; e.g., *yāz/yāt-* 'to reach; to ripen', *vuz-/vut-* 'to say', *mas-/mat-* 'to hear', *veyr(i)ž-/veyr(i)t-* 'to run; to run away', *fiš-/fit-* 'to throw'. In this category may be included those stems in which also a change in the consonant or the vowel of the stem I occurs; e.g., *ferāš-/herāt-* 'to sell', *düz-/dut-* 'to sew', *paž-/pāt-* 'to cook', *duš-/det-* 'to milk', *fes-/het-* 'to sleep'.
- 4) By dropping the final consonant of the stem I and changing its vowel before adding the dental; e.g., *gir-/get-* 'to seize'.
- 5) By dropping the final consonant of the stem I (in all the examples the final consonant is the dental nasal *-n*); a) without any change in the vowel; e.g., *yan-/ya-* 'to hit', *tan-/ta-* 'to take; to buy', and b) with a change in the vowel; e.g., *dan-/du-* 'to give', *nan-/nu-* 'to put', *ānjen-/ānji-* 'to cut (into pieces)'.
- 6) By adding *-i* to the stem I; e.g., *ber-/beri-* 'to cut', *kern-/kerni-* 'to pull', *čen-/čeni-* 'to pick', *uren-/ureni-* 'to pull out, to weed out', *send-/sendi-* 'to break (trans.)', *tosn-/tosni-* 'to throttle'. NB. The causative verbs made by adding *-un* or *-en* to their intransitive stems also follow this pattern; e.g., *terekun-/~i-* 'to split', *veružen-/~i-* 'to make flee', *vāzun-/~i-* 'to throw', *gəl(e)n-/~i-* 'to bring to boil', *serun-/~i-* 'to make laugh', *viur(e)n-/~i-* 'to make pass'.
- 7) By adding *(e)st-* to the stem I; this being by far the largest category; e.g., *gin-/~est-* 'to fall', *ser-/~est-* 'to laugh', *berem-/~est-* 'to weep', *si-/~st-* 'to break (intr.)', *gəl-/~est-* 'to boil (intr.)', *keköv-/~est-* 'to cough', *šešnev-/~est-* 'to sneeze', *lārz-/~est-* 'to tremble', *lev-/~est-* 'to shake', *asi-/~st-* 'to spill', *učər-/~est-* 'to return', *terek-/~est-* 'to crack (intr.)', *deri-/~st-* 'to get torn', *pəsi-/~st-* 'to come undone, to get torn', *čel-/~est-* 'to drip', *pex-/~est-* 'to decay', *nav-/~est-* 'to search', *su-/~est-* 'to rub', *mul-/~est-* 'to rub', *yū-/*

¹³ This is in fact a complex verb: *qam* 'care' and **bar* 'to eat' (corresponding to Persian *yam xordan* 'to worry about, to care for') which occurs in some other dialects as well, but usually with the meaning of 'to keep, to take care of'. In this dialect, however, the verb is used as a plain one since, unlike the compound verbs, in the imperative it takes the modal prefix *be-*, see 18.2. Note however that 'to eat' has also a different present stem at this stage of the dialect: *far-* as well as *har-*.

*-est*¹⁴ 'to chew', *sa-/~st-* 'to be able to', *ur-/~est-* 'to grind, to make flour', *dörü-/~st-* 'to harvest', *zun-/~est-* 'to know'. Under this category may be subsumed *küy-/küst-* 'to pound', *ur-/~ist-* 'to make dough'¹⁵, and *funi-/bunist-* 'to doze'.

- 8) By changing the final vowel of the stem I from *-ü* to *-i*; this applies in my notes to only two verbs *bü/bi* 'to be, to become' and *šü/ši* 'to go' (in the conjugation of the subjunctive of these two verbs *-u* and *-ü* both occur, *-ü* appearing in the 3rd person singular).
- 9) By generalizing the stem I; e.g., *tast-* 'to be throttled' and *bāst-* 'to bind' (this is also a large category in both Kalāsuri¹⁶ and Northern Tāleši¹⁷).
- 10) In a few verbs the stem I and II are more removed from each other, as a result of historical phonetic developments and cannot be synchronically easily classified; e.g., *uy-/uma*¹⁸ 'to come', *zu-/zand-* 'to give birth', *bier-/vārd-* 'to bring'. Essentially they belong to the category (1).

10.0. Verbal prefixes

10.1. There are three verbal prefixes used, namely *be-*, *ma-*, and *na-*. *be-/bi-/b-* is used in the imperative, and occasionally in the subjunctive and the present (qq.v.) when the stem is plain (i.e., includes no preverb); e.g., *b-uy!* 'come!', *b-ay!* 'get up!', *b-ayzā!* 'get up! (pl.)', *be-mārdene* 'I die/I shall die', *be-hārde-(y)ne* 'I eat'. In transitive verbs *be-* is followed by the 3rd person enclitic pronoun *-š* with the narrowing of *-e-* into *-i-* resulting in *biš-* (*biž-* when the stem begins with a voiced phoneme). *-š* must have referred originally to the object of the verb, but at this stage the enclitic pronoun *-š* when preceded by *bi-* has lost its objectival sense and *biš-* serves as a plain modal prefix; e.g., *biš-kiš!* 'kill!', *biž-yan!* 'hit!', *biž-fiž!* 'throw!', *biž-deren!* 'tear!', *biž-lerzun!* 'shake!', *biž-bā!* 'carry!', *biž-biān!* 'bring!', *biš-fāz mon biš-yan(e)* 'let me hit'.¹⁹

10.2. The superfluous *-š/-ž* occurs also sometimes after a preverb; e.g., *pə-ž run!* 'separate!, pull off!', *vi-š kā!* 'fasten!', *pə-ž de!* 'pile up!', *qaray be-š faren* 'I must eat'.

11.0. *ma-* is used in prohibition, but only in the imperative; e.g., *ma-še!* 'don't go!', *ma-beram!* 'don't cry!', *u-ma-ka!* 'don't open!', *takun ma-han!* 'don't move!'

14 In careful speech an original *v* appears before *-est*, *yuvest-*.

15 The informant insisted that this is a different verb than *ur-/urest-* even though their present stems are the same.

16 See E. YARSHATER: "The Tāti Dialect of Kalāsuri." In: *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. Iranian Studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*. Wiesbaden 2005 (Iranica 8).

17 See B. V. MILLER: *Talyšskij jazyk*. Moscow 1953, p. 138.

18 In *cār vu-/cār uma-* 'to turn' a *v-* appears in the stem I and *-y* has dropped.

19 This development is shared by the Tāti dialect of Kalāsuri and Xoynarud, in the north-eastern corner of Azerbaijan, see YARSHATER 2005, p. 273 §5.4.2.

12.0. *na-/ne-* is used for negation, but in the subjunctive also for prohibition; e.g., *ne-šū-še qaray* 'you (sing.) must not go', *ut-j-e* (i.e., *ut-š-e*) *ke na-šune* 'he said that I should not go', *ke vārg čoro-ye-ž* (i.e., *-š*) *nefare* 'so that the wolves (sing.) will not devour its flock', *ninde* (i.e., *ne-nde*) 'they are not'.

13.0. **Endings.** Essentially one set of endings is employed for all tenses (but see the ergative construction for the past transitive verbs, 6.1); it consists of the enclitic form of the verb 'to be' (see 16.0), thus making all tenses basically a periphrastic one. The endings are: 1. *-en/-embe*, 2. *-eše*, 3. *-e*, 4. *-embe*, 5. *-inie*, 6. *-ende*. The initial vowel of the endings may drop if it is preceded by a vowel or may change in combination with such a vowel or else it is altered on account of its environment. In some tenses the ending of the 2nd person plural is abbreviated to *-ie* (but see the perfect).

13.1. *-embe* seems to be originally the 1st person plural, but it is used also for the 1st person singular (cf. 16a, b and c) apparently out of the villagers' habit of referring to themselves in the plural as in colloquial Persian.

14.0. **Preverbs** are non-modal prefixes which modify the meaning of the basic verbs and whose places change according to the structure of the sentence in which they occur. The following preverbs were noted: *ar-* 'down'; e.g., *arginestā* 'to fall (mostly down)', *ar-yiā* 'to sieve (lit. to hit down)', *ar-kārdā* 'to pour'; *vi-* 'down'; e.g., *čest-en leng-em vi-duy* 'the shoe is pressing my foot', (*vi-duā* 'to press, to wring'), *vi-biā* 'to close (intr.)', *vi-umā* 'to bend down (intr.)', *vi-kārdā* 'to close (trans.); to fasten', *vi-gatā* 'to plait', *sarem vi-gi!* 'plait my hair! (lit. my head)', *vi-nuā* 'to fold', *bar ge-vi* 'the door was closed'; *pe-/pə-* 'up'; e.g., *pə-getā* 'to lift', *pe-duā* 'to pile up', *pə-šie* 'to boil over' (cf. *šie pə* 'it boiled over', *ene pə-še* 'it is boiling over'); *u-* 'out, aside, etc.'; e.g., *u-kārdā* 'to open', *u-š-ka!* 'open!', *u-duā* 'to drive out, to push aside' (*u-ž de!* 'drive out!'), *aloqun u-ren/u-de!* 'pull out the grass (pl.)!', *bezā müyun u-ren!* 'pull out the goat's hair (pl.)!', *gavā-ž u-ne*, *sārd be* 'lift its lid (so that) it cools', *u-ž-ne ružā var* 'place it in the sun'; *pašu* 'back'; in *pašu-ž-de!* 'give back!', *pašu-ž-yān!* 'hit back!', *pašu-ž-ne!* 'shove back!' *pašu-ž gi!* 'take to the side/to the back!', *zir-em pašu-m duā* 'I gave back yesterday'. On the other hand, *pašu* may in fact consist of the adverb *paš-* and the preverb *u-*. In this and some other cases where the meaning of the preverb is clear such as *pe-/pə-* 'up' and *ar-* 'down', it is difficult to distinguish between a preverb and an adverb; *pu-* is apparently the result of the combination of *pə-* and *u-*; e.g., *pu-ž vāž* (i.e., *pə u-ž vāž*) 'pull out!', *səqə pu (v)āžj!* 'dig out the stone!', *zir pu-m vāte* 'I dug out yesterday'. Note, however, that *pu (v)āžj-/~āt-* is the only example with this combined preverb (?) that I came across. NB. *pu-* as a preverb should not be confused with *pu-* 'foot' which occurs also in some complex verbs; e.g., *čast-aš pu bie* 'he put on his shoes (lit. his shoe became foot)'; *zir be pu-ž bie* 'he put on (his shoes) yesterday'; *pukārdā* 'to put on shoes or socks (trans.)'. This verb has been generalized to mean 'to put

on'; it is mostly used for shoes, socks and pants, and less frequently for clothes; e.g., *qaray ulatun-em pu karane* 'I must put on my clothes', but not for shirts.

15.0. Complex verbs

15.1. As in Persian a fairly large number of verbal meanings are expressed with the help of a noun and an auxiliary verb. Chief among the latter are *šīā* 'to go', *kārdā* 'to do, to make', *yiā* 'to hit', *biā* 'to be, to become', *duā* 'to give', *umiā* 'to come'; e.g., *kūf šīā* 'to swing'; *pur kārdā* 'to fill', *herd kārdā* 'to break into pieces', *rust kārdā* 'to fix', *guvdar kārdā* 'to yawn', *hay kārdā* 'to drive, prompt (an animal)', *urda kārdā* 'to make flour'; *vuš yiā* 'to light, to kindle', *qiā yiā* 'to shout', *mavnā yiā* 'to mow', *belā yiā* 'to bleat'; *zeru biā* 'to wake up (intr.)'; *var duā* 'to let go', *vuy duā* 'to winnow' (cf. Pers. *bād dādan*), *nāqu duā* 'to keep'; *cār umiā* 'to stroll'.

15.1.1. In this category are to be included the verbs which have complements of a Turkish origin; e.g., *dādmīš kārdā* 'to taste', *ālāšmīš bie* 'to be kindled', *söymīš kārdā* 'to like', *injitmīš kārdā* 'to hurt', *towlamīš b(i)ā* 'to turn (intr.)', *ferramīš b(i)ā* 'to turn (intr.)', a Turkish form possibly with a Karingāni or Persian base.

16.0. 'To be'

As the enclitic present of the verb 'to be' provides endings for a number of tenses, and its non-enclitic form is used in the formation of some others, its paradigm is given here.

a) From the stem **ah-*:

Present: 1. *-en(e)/-embe*²⁰, 2. *-eše*, 3. *-e(n)*, 4. *-embe*, 5. *-inie*²¹, 6. *-ende* (the initial vowel of these forms generally drops out when preceded by a vowel); e.g., *mun Hasan-en* 'I am Hasan', *sarbāz embe* 'we are soldier(s)'.
Negative of the above: 1. *nine*, 2. *niše*, 3. *nie*, 4. *nimbe*, 5. *ninie*, 6. *ninde* (the stress falls on *ni-*).

b) From the secondary stem *hest-*:

Present: 1. *hest-ene*, 2. *hest-eše*, 3. *hest*, 4. *hest-embe*, 5. *hest-inie*, 6. *hest-ende*.

Negative of the above: 1. *nist-ene*, 2. *nist-eše*, 3. *nist-e*, 4. *nist-embe*, 5. *nist-inie*, 6. *nist-ende*.

c) From the stem *bav-*:

Imperative: 1. *be!* 'be!', *bunā!* 'be! (pl.)'.

Subjunctive: 1. *būnen*, 2. *būše*, 3. *bū*, 4. *būmbe*, 5. *būnye*, 6. *būnde*.

Preterit: 1. *bine*, 2. *biše*, 3. *bie*, 4. *bimbe*, 5. *binye*, 6. *binde* (the stress falls on the first syllable).

²⁰ See 13.1.

²¹ Often an abbreviated form, i.e., *-ie* is used as an ending.

Pluperfect: 1. *hestā bine*, 2. *hestā biše*, 3. *hestā bie*, 4. *hestā bimbe*, 5. *hestā binye*, 6. *hestā binde* 'I had been, you had been, etc.' (The perfect could not be obtained; the informants used the preterit instead.)

17.0. Tenses and moods

17.1. Tenses and moods based on the stem I are: the imperative, the subjunctive, and the conditional present.

18.0. The *imperative* is formed with the stem I, with the modal preverb *be-/bi-/b-* for intransitive verbs and *biš-/biž-* for transitive verbs if they are plain, that is, have no preverb, and the ending *nil* for the singular and *-ā* for the plural (see 4.0 and 10.1); e.g., *biš-keš!* 'kill!', *biž duā!* 'give! (pl.)'. NB. In *veyri/veyrižā!* 'run!' however, the prefix *be-* is not used.

18.1. If the transitive verb has a preverb, then its imperative does not take *be-/bi-*, but the enclitic *-š/-ž* is optionally, if infrequently, employed; e.g., *arkā!* 'pour!', *u-š-kā!* 'open!'

18.2. The final consonant of the stem tends to drop out in the imperative singular of some verbs, but appears in the plural before the vowel ending; e.g., *arkā/arkarā!* 'pour! (sing. and pl.)', *veyri!/veyrižā!* 'run!', *bay!/bayžā!* 'get up!', *biž-qamā!/biž-qamarā!* 'make!' The following irregular imperatives occur: *še!/šunā!* 'go! (sing. and pl.)', *bure!/burazā!* 'come!', *biž-de!/biž-danā!* 'give!', *biž-ne/biž-nanā!* 'put!' NB. The plural of *biž-deren!* 'tear!' is *biž-dernā*.

19.0. The *subjunctive* is built with the stem I, the modal prefix *biš-/biž-* usually when the verb is transitive and bears no preverb, and the following endings: 1. *-(e)ne/ambe*²², 2. *-(e)še*, 3. *-e*, 4. *-umbe*, 5. *-(i)nye*, 6. *-(e)nde* (the vowels in parenthesis appear after a consonant); e.g., 1. *mon embe xāš ke fes-ene*, 2. *te še xāš ke fesīše*, 3. *avā-n xāš ke fes-e*, 4. *ame-mbe xāš ke fes-umbe*, 5. *šeme-nye xāš ke fesinye*, 6. *ay-ende xāš ke fesende* 'I want to sleep, you want to sleep, etc.'. Cf. *biš fāz mon biž-yan(e)* 'let me hit', *te biž-yan-eše* '(that) you hit (sing.)', *qaray ar-eš-kar-ene* 'I must pour' (*ar-kārdā* 'to pour'), *embe xāš ke šun-en dies-en(e)* 'I want to go (and) see', *biž-duž-e* '(that) he sews'. The subjunctive of 'to go' is conjugated as follows: 1. *šu-n/šu-nene*, 2. *šūše*, 3. *šū*, 4. *šū-mbe*, 5. *šū-nye*, 6. *šū-nde*; example of compound verb taking *be-*: *be-u-ren-imbe* '(that) I pull out'.

20.0. The *conditional present*. From the few examples I have noted it appears that the conditional present is built with the stem I followed by the marker *-i* and the subjunctive endings; e.g., *agā te far-i-še mon iye be hārdene* 'if you eat, I will eat too', *agā vender-ene te bu-i-še be-umiše?* 'if I wait for you to come, do

²² The initial vowel of *-ambe*, is unstable and may change to *-i-* or *-u-* or be dropped according to its environment or for differentiation from a preceding vowel; see the endings of the present (21.1) which are essentially the same as the endings of the subjunctive.

you come?'. The fact that *-i-* is not simply a narrowed form of *-e-*, which would make the conditional present identical with the subjunctive, may find support in Kalāsuri, a closely similar dialect, if we take its conditional present, which is distinct from its subjunctive, as possessing the marker *-u-*.²³

20.1. In a couple of examples of transitive verbs the subjunctive is used as the conditional present even though the modal prefix *be-* is lacking; e.g., *agā faren(e) ba-mārdene* 'if I eat, I shall die', *agā sayan(e) behārde-ne* 'if I want, I eat'.

21.0. Tenses and moods based on the stem II are: the present, the continuous present, the preterit, the imperfect, the perfect, the past conditional (unreal), the subjunctive perfect, and the pluperfect.

21.1. The *present* is built with the stem II, the indicators of the persons or 'endings' (which basically are the same as the endings of the subjunctive see 19.0), and the modal preverb *be-* (but see 21.1.1); e.g., 1. *mun rā be-het-ene*, 2. *te rā be-het-əše*, 3. *avā rā behet-ie*, 4. *amā rā behet-əmbe*, 5. *šeme rā behet-inye*, 6. *ay rā behet-ənde* 'I sleep early, you sleep early, etc.'. Examples from transitive verbs: 1. *mun be-get-ene*, 2. *te beget-əše*, 3. *beget-ie*, 4. *amā beget-əmbe*, 5. *šeme be-get-inye*, 6. *ay beget-ənde* 'I take, you take, etc.'. In negative verbs the negative marker *ne/ni* may come between the stem and the 'ending'; e.g., *pül ti-ni-še?*²⁴ 'don't you take money?'

21.1.1. The personal indicators may separate from the verb and come before the stem or before the object of a transitive verb as if they were freestanding pronouns. In such cases the modal prefix *be-* is often omitted and the 3rd person singular 'ending' appears as *en*; e.g., 1. *embe het(e)*, 2. *še het(e)*, 3. *en hete*, 4. *əmbe hete*, 5. *nye hete*, 6. *ənde hete* 'I sleep, you sleep, etc.'. Examples from a transitive verb: 1. *mu(n) embe hārd*, 2. *te-eše hārd*, 3. *av en hārd*, 4. *ame-mbe hārd*, 5. *šeme-nye hārd*, 6. *ay ende hārd* 'I eat, you eat, etc.'.²⁵; some other examples: *vinče āmi-zua-ž en-ume* (*-ž* is voiced *-š*) 'he saw (that) this cousin is coming', *de mašk em-vārde* (*em-* for *en-* before a labial) 'he is bringing two skin churns', *eše-še ke?* 'where are you (sing.) going?', *embe šo šār* 'I am going to the city (i.e., Tabriz)'; *a kordā-n beri* (the *-e* of *en* is dropped after *ā*) 'that knife cuts'; *Hasan be-tie*²⁶/*Hasan en te* 'Hasan takes', *čame-em qonši en hār tanā pūla te, paš-əž doy nie* (*-əž* for *-əš* before a voiced consonant) 'this neighbor of us takes everyone's money and does not give (it) back', *ay en pül get* 'he takes money', *ayənde pül get* 'they take money', *āsbā nde jav hārd*, *aloq harde ninde* 'horses eat barley,

²³ See YARSHATER, forthcoming, and 7.3.

²⁴ See note 26 for *tie* 'to take'.

²⁵ In rendering *ə* and *e* vowels in the above conjugations I am following my notations as taken at the time of the interview. Obviously a more thorough study of Karingāni phonetics is needed to ascertain the proper distribution of the two vowel phonemes.

²⁶ I.e., *te-e*, cf. *tān!* 'take!', *tan-e* '(that) it takes', *ten-ene* 'I take', *ave be-ti-e* 'he takes', *tame* 'I took'; for *be-tie* cf. *be-yātie* '(the barley) ripens' and *be-sistie* 'it breaks'.

do not eat grass'. The modal prefix *be-* is also omitted in complex verbs, that is, verbs with a preverb (see 21.2).

21.1.2. When the present of a transitive verb responds to a conditional verb, the prefix *be-* may come either before the stem, or in transitive verbs before the object of the verb; e.g., *agā far-n(e) be-mārd-ene* 'if I eat I shall die', *agā sayan(e) be-hārd-ene* 'if I want, I eat'; *xug en aloq hārd-e be güzd hārd-e nie* 'boar(s) eats grass, do(es) not eat meat'.

21.2. When a verb has a preverb, the 'endings' may follow the subject or more commonly come between the preverb and the stem; e.g., *te ma-še*, *Hasan barā u-e-kārd* 'don't you go, Hasan opens the door', *te maše, ame barā u-mb-kārd* 'don't you go, we open the door'.

21.3. If the object of a complex transitive verb is an enclitic pronoun, normally it comes after the preverb and before the 'ending', which is then followed by the stem; e.g., *te ma-še, ay u-eš-unde-kārd* (*unde* instead of *ənd*, apparently by assimilation to the preceding *u*) 'don't you go, they open it', *ay u-šun-unde-kārd* 'they open them'.

21.4. Thus the 'endings' may: a) follow the stem, b) precede the stem, c) precede the object of a transitive verb, and d) come between the preverb and the stem in complex verbs; e.g., a) *mun beget-en-e* 'I take'; *mun rā behet-ene* 'I sleep early'; b) *embe še, eše še*, etc. 'I am going, you are going, etc.'; c) *embe nun pāte, te-eš nun pāte*, etc. 'I bake/I am baking bread, you bake/you are baking bread, etc.'. The above apply also to the continuous present. NB. In my examples when the 1st person singular 'ending' precedes the stem, it is always *embe*, but when follows the stem, it is *-(e)n(e)*. Whether this is by chance or otherwise needs further study.

21.5. In a number of examples, as seen above, the stem is followed by *-e*; some other examples: *em herdan be-het-e nie* 'this child does not sleep', *mun be-hārd-e nin* 'I do not eat', *mun be-zunest-e nin* 'I do not know'. I have postulated that the verbal stem followed by *-e* forms a gerund (although this is also the form of the infinitive and one could perhaps equally consider it as such)²⁷. If this should explain the presence of *-e* in a number of examples, then one must assume that sometimes *-e* is dropped and the bare stem retains the gerundive sense (see the continuous present, 22.0).

22.0. The *continuous* or *progressive present* is formed by the gerund, namely, the stem II followed by *-e*, the marker *-i* which follows the gerund and is practically pronounced *-y-* after the *-e* of the gerund, and the personal indicators; e.g., 1. *hete-y-ne*, 2. *hete-y-še*, 3. *hete-y-nye* (note the addition of *-n-*), 4. *hete-y-mbe*, 5. *hete-y-nye*, 6. *hete-y-nde* 'I am sleeping, you are sleeping, etc.'; transitive: 1. *pāte-y-ne*, 2. *pāte-y-še* 'I am cooking, you are cooking, etc.', *kāšte-i-ne/*

²⁷ The same form occurs in a closely related dialect, that of Kalāsuri and Xoynarud for the present and the imperfect, see YARSHATER, forthcoming, 8.1 and 8.6.

kāšte-y-ne 'I am sowing', *čeci kāšte-iše/kāšte-y-še* 'what are you sowing?', *dur kāšte-ine/kāšte-y-ne* 'I am planting a tree' (notice that *-e* of *-ene* is palatalized after the preceding *-e*). However, in a number of examples the marker *-i-* does not occur so that the boundary between the present and the continuous present disappears; e.g., *dur en bevest(e)* 'the tree is shaking', *pā-n āstā kušte* 'dogs (sing.) eat bones (sing.)', *embe gāndem arie* 'we are sieving wheat', *embe bādam sende* 'we are cracking almond(s)', *embe ulat šešte* 'we are washing clothes', *še zuneste čuka xiāra kūngü be-herāt-end-e?* 'do you know (sing.) where they are selling/they sell good cucumber(s)?', *em xiārūn en-ie herāt-e?* 'are you selling/do you sell these cucumbers?', *zuneste ni-š čē-qederi čuk-e!* 'you don't know how good it is!' It will be noted that in the majority of the above examples the 'endings' are brought forward and precede the verb or the object of the verb.

22.1. The continuous present serves also for the future; e.g., *čani sor gāndem kāšte-i-ne/kāšte-y-ne* 'next year he will be sowing', *te sabā čē kur karde-i-še/karde-y-še* 'what are you doing/will you do tomorrow', *mun sabā hete-y-ne* 'I shall sleep/am sleeping tomorrow', *mun sabā šie-y-ne šakār* 'tomorrow I shall go hunting'.

22.2. The present or the continuous present sometimes is used to denote habitual state or action; e.g., *pā-n āstā hušte* 'dogs (sing.) eat bones (sing.)'; *še zuneste?* 'do you know?'

22.2.1. The semantic boundary between the present, the continuous present or future is not always clear and in some of my examples they appear interchangeably; e.g., *sābā-sari en be-še šār* 'tomorrow I go/I am going/I shall go to the city', *čani sor gāndem kāšte-inie* 'next year he sows/is sowing/will sow wheat', *eše čē kor kārde/čē kor kārde-iše?* 'what are you doing/what do you do?', *zul derest kārde-imb* 'we are making/we make charcoal', *sābā-sari nun pāte-iše?* 'will you bake bread/be baking bread tomorrow?'; negative: *zuneste-nin čēče kū-e* 'I don't know what it is from', *hašte nie šumbe* 'he is not letting/does not let us go'.

23.0. The preterit of intransitive verbs is built by adding the personal endings to the stem II; e.g., 1. *vāšt-ene*, 2. *vāšt-eše*, 3. *vāšt-e*, 4. *vāšt-embe*, 5. *vāšt-inie*, 6. *vāšt-ende* 'I jumped, you jumped, etc.'; cf. the preterit of 'to go' which is as follows: 1. *ši-ne*, 2. *ši-še*, 3. *ši-e*, 4. *ši-mbe*, 5. *ši-nye*, 6. *ši-nde* 'I went, you went, etc.'

23.1. The initial vowel of the endings may be palatalized into *i* depending on its environment; e.g., *ay veyrtinde* 'they ran'.

23.2. In the case of the transitive verbs, which follow the ergative construction (see 6.1), as the verb accords with its object, it can have only two forms: one for singular and the other for plural objects; they are built respectively like the 3rd person singular and plural of the intransitive verbs; e.g., *bar-ə-š ukārd-e* 'he opened the door (lit. the door was opened by him)', *bar-ə-š ukārd-ende* 'he opened the doors'. The agent of the verb is indicated by an oblique noun or

pronoun and is often resumed by an enclitic pronoun. When only an enclitic pronoun is explicitly mentioned, one gets the appearance of a paradigm with six persons; e.g., *vot-m-e*, *vot-i-e*, *vot-če/vot-jje*, *vot-mun-e*, *vot-yun-e*, *vot-čun-e*, 'I said (lit. was said by me), you said (lit. was said by you), etc.'

24.0. The imperfect is built with the stem II by adding a stressed *-e* to it followed by the preterit of the verb 'to be'. The stem plus a stressed *-e* may be considered a past participle with a gerundive sense (see 21.5 and 26.0). The formation of the imperfect in transitive and intransitive verbs is the same since the imperfect does not follow the ergative construction. The stem may take the prefix *be-* when the stem is plain; e.g., *(be)veyrte-bine* 'I used to run', *zir beveyrte bine lengem gineste seqe* 'yesterday I was running when my foot hit (against a) stone', *be-pāte-bine del-am dašte* 'I was cooking when my stomach (began) to ache', *dim-ij šešte bia* 'and he used to wash his face'. The preterit of 'to be' may come between the preverb and the stem; e.g., *bel-eš pi-bia-get* 'he used to pick up his spade' (*pā-/pi-* a preverb indicating upward movement). NB. As noticed by the above examples, the imperfect sometimes denotes a past progressive action.

25.0. The perfect is built with the stem II and the perfect marker, stressed *-ā*. The endings, which in my examples precede the verb are: 1. *-me*, 2. *-eše*, 3. *-(e)n(e)*, 4. *-embe*, 5. *-ye*, 6. *-ende*, which differ from the general endings, but perhaps not to the extent of constituting a separate set of endings; e.g., *ni-me-šiā* 'I have not gone', *Hasan en-šiā* 'Hasan has gone', *ame nimbe šiā* 'we have not gone', *šeme nye-šiā?* 'have you (pl.) not gone?', *ay ende-šiā* 'they have gone', cf. *ay šinde* 'they went'. If the verb has an object, the 'endings' may precede both the verb and its object; e.g., *te tā esā eše Kalbolāi šiā?* 'until now have you gone to Karbala?'

25.1. In transitive verbs, as was the case with the preterit, only the 3rd person singular and plural are used, with enclitic pronouns as optimal agents indicating various persons; e.g., *te tā (be)esā nun en-pātā* 'have you until now (i.e., ever) baked bread?', *pinš kat nun-em en-pātā* (pronounced *em-pātā*, see 4.0) 'five times have I baked bread', *diesene durun uv-šun en-hārdā yā na* '(that) I see (if) the trees have been watered or not (lit. have drunk water)', *čemene čestā xos ninde dutā* 'my shoes are not well sewn'.

26.0. The past conditional (unreal) is built with the preterit of the verb plus *-ay* as the marker (the *-e* that attaches itself in the preterit to the stem is occasionally absent); e.g., *bie čuk ne-ye hārde, hārde-ay bemārde biše* (*-ye* is the enclitic pronoun as the agent, *-i* represents the same) 'it was good you did not eat (it), had you eaten, you would have died', *bie čuk ne-m hārde, hārd-em-ay be mārde bine* 'it was good that I did not eat (it), had I eaten, I would have died', *agā hard-č-ay* 'if he had eaten (*-č* is the 3rd person enclitic pronoun *-š*)', *hārde-mun-ay* 'had we eaten', *hārde-yun-ay* 'had you eaten', *agā heten-ay mārde bine* 'if I had

slept, I would have died', *het-ay-embe* 'had we slept'. The marker *ay* could precede the endings, therefore *agā heten-ay* and *agā het-ay-n* are both correct.²⁸

27.0. The *subjunctive perfect* is made of the perfect stem, that is, the stem I plus *-ā* (see 25.0) and the subjunctive of the verb 'to be'; e.g., *agā mon serastā bunen(e)* 'if I should have laughed', *age te veyrtā büše* 'if you should have run (away)'.

27.1. In transitive verbs, as in the perfect, the 3rd person singular and plural are used with the subject indicated by an oblique noun or pronoun; e.g., *agā mon votā bü* 'if I should have said', *agā te votā bü* 'if you should have said'.

28.0. The *pluperfect* is made of the perfect stem and the preterit of the verb 'to be'; e.g., *mardā bia* 'had died', *šü šiā bia* 'she had married (lit. had gone [to] husband)'. It differs from the imperfect only by having *-ā* added to the stem II instead of *-e*, cf., *šet-eš hārde bie* 'was drinking milk', *šet hārdā bia* 'had drunk milk'. Notice that *-ā*, when followed by enclitic pronouns beginning with a consonant, is generally articulated as *-a*; e.g., *ya-šun bie*, *dezde-šun kešta binde*, *geta-šun binde*, *bārda-šun binde hasb* 'they had beaten, had killed the thieves, had seized them, (and) had taken them to jail'.

29.0. The Causative

29.1. The *causative* is made by adding *-un* or *-en* to the stem I or else to the common stem of the verb; e.g., *biš-ser-un* 'make laugh', *biž-beram-un* 'make cry', *barə ma-lārzen* 'do not shake the door', *biž-der-en!* 'tear!' (cf. *ulat deriste* 'the garment was torn'), *em durə lev-un!* 'shake this tree!' (cf. *dur en levest* 'the tree is shaking'), *Hasanə herdanə-ž het-un-ie* 'Hasan put the child to bed (lit. to sleep)' (cf. *herden hete* 'the child slept'), *veyruž-en!* 'make run (away)!' (cf. *veyri!* 'run (away)!'), *xāš-č-e veryže* 'he wants to run away', *beru-ž veyrte* 'his brother ran away'. NB. Karingāni uses two stems for 'to sleep': *het-* and *fes-*, both have causatives in *-un*, *xāš-č-e herdanə fes-un-e* 'he wants to put the child to bed (lit. to sleep)', *sastə nie herdanə fesune* 'he cannot put the child to sleep'.

30.0. The *Passive*. Karingāni appears to have no device for forming the passive. In *xāš-č-e deri* 'it is about to be torn (lit. it wants to be torn)', *deriste* 'it was torn' (Persian *pāre šod*), *be-deristie* 'it will be torn', *hiš malü nia derist* 'it never gets torn' may be detected a trace of the passive in *-i*, but considering the vacillation of the vowels in the dialect it is probably easier to explain *-i* in *deri* as a variant of *-e*.

28 It will be noted that in such conditional sentences the verb in the main clause is put in the imperfect, as in Persian, cf. Pers. *agar mixordam, mimordam* 'if I had eaten, I would have died'. Although, the more common usage is to have pluperfect in both the conditional and the main clause: Pers. *agar xordeh budam, mordeh budam*.

31.0. Non-finite forms

31.1. The *infinitive* is made of the stem II and the marker *-ə*; e.g., *detə sabā-sari rān-dā čuk-e* 'to milk in the early morning is good', *hiški ži yan hošdə kü pisetə-ž ni vindā* 'no one has seen any harm from taking a wife' (*ži* is the conjunction and *-ž* is the 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun which has been voiced), *veyrtə* 'to run', *kernə* 'to draw', *qamārdə* 'to make', *serestə* 'to laugh', *šiə* 'to go', *umə* 'to come', *yātə* 'to ripen', *vošiə* 'to kindle', *beria* 'to cut', *ür-kārdə* 'to sweep', *bia* 'to become', *hüvār bia* 'to learn'. Note also *duə/doy* 'to give', *yi(ə)* 'to hit'.

32.0. The *past participle* is made with the stem II and the marker *-a* which is articulated farther back as *-ā* when final; e.g., *arista ruven* 'spilled ghee', *beria tanef* 'broken rope', *bia nun* 'well baked bread (lit. well-been or well-become)', *čenia vel* 'picked flower'. In *čele pinž ru toston-unda ši-undā* 'forty-five days gone past summer' and *toston-unda i mu mund-undā* 'one month left of the summer', *-a/-ā* of *ši-* and *mund-* has been absorbed by the initial vowel of *undā* 'from'. NB. Since the attributive adjective also takes *-a*, the above examples by themselves do not necessarily confirm *-a* as the ending of the past participle; the inference, however, can be made from the perfect, the subjunctive perfect and the pluperfect which are formed with past participle.